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was in fact a declaration of war, with a fair notice that an invasion of the enemy's country was immediately to take place.

Such were the principles, such was the manly conduct of the Indians in former times. How different it is at present I need not say. We yet remember the unhappy fate of Messrs. *Trueman*, *Freeman*, and *Hardin*. These three respectable American gentlemen, were in the year 1793, sent to the Indians with flags of truce and peace proposals, and were all wantonly murdered. To whom is this horrid state of things to be attributed? I will not pretend to judge, but let us hear what the Indians say.

The principal reasons which they assign as having brought about this great change, are comprised under the following general heads.

I. That the white people have intermeddled with their national concerns, by dictating to one nation how they should treat another, and even how they should speak and what they should say to them, and by this means have entirely destroyed their national independence. That they have even encouraged and supported one Indian nation in not only affecting but actually exercising dominion and supremacy over all the others.

II. That the whites have treated the Indians as a contemptible race and paid no regard themselves to the sacred character of messengers, but murdered them as well as their chiefs in numerous instances without distinction. That they even polluted what among them is esteemed most holy and inviolable, their *council fires*, extinguishing them (as they express themselves) with streams of the best blood of their nation, in violation of their professions and most solemn promises! That their whole conduct in short has appeared as if they would say to them: "we "do not care for you; we despise you—all we want is "your lands, and those we will have."

Nor are they at a loss when called upon to specify the particular injuries of which they complain. Amidst a

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a long list of similar grievances, I shall select a few of the most prominent.

1. The protection given against them to the Iroquois, encouraging that nation to insult them, to treat them as women made such by conquest, and to exercise a tyrannical superiority over them.

2. The murder of the Conestogo Indians, at the very place where a *council fire* was burning at the time; where treaties had been held with them in early times, and where even a treaty had been concluded in 1762, the year preceding the murder; and that too, in the country of their brother *Miquon*, in the *Quaker* country, in Pennsylvania.

3. The horrid murder committed between the years 1776 and 1779, on the great and much valued Shawano chief *Cornstalk*, at Kanhawa, where it was known that he was on a friendly and interesting errand.

4. The firing upon and severely wounding a noted Shawano in the year 1774, while on his return from Pittsburg, to which place he had, out of friendship and humanity, conducted several white traders and protected them against an enraged body of Indians, on whose relations the white people had committed most horrid murders.

5. The attacking the peaceable encampment of the Delaware chiefs on the island at Pittsburgh, where one *Messenger* and several others were murdered.

6. The murder of the Christian Indians on Muskingum, by Williamson's party, together with the chief from *Achsinning* (the standing stone,) although the persons thus murdered were known to be friends to the whites.

The Indians relate many more outrages committed on *messengers, visiters,* and other *friendly* Indians, of which I shall spare the painful recital to my readers. From this series of unjust and cruel acts, the Indian nations have at last come to the conclusion, that the Americans are in their hearts inimical to them, and that when they

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send them messengers of peace, they only mean to lull them into a fancied security, that they may the easier fall upon and destroy them. It was in consequence of this conviction that the three respectable gentlemen whom I have already mentioned, met with their unhappy fate.

CHAPTER XXII.

TREATIES.

IN early times, when Indian nations, after long and bloody wars, met together for the purpose of adjusting their differences, or concluding a peace with each other, it was their laudable custom, as a token of their sincerity, to remove out of the place where the peace-makers were sitting, all warlike weapons and instruments of destruction, of whatever form or shape. "For," said they, "when we are engaged in a good work, nothing that is "bad must be visible. We are met together to forgive "and forget, to *bury* the destructive weapon, and put it "quite out of sight; we cast away from us the fatal in-"strument that has caused so much grief to our wives "and children, and has been the source of so many tears. "It is our earnest hope and wish that it may never be "dug up again." So particular were they on this point, that if a single weapon had been in sight, while a treaty was negotiating, it would have disturbed their minds by recalling the memory of past events, and instead, (as they say) of gladdening their hearts, by the prospect of

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this food; but, afterwards, in the year 1762, when I resided at Tuscorawas on the Muskingum, I was told by some of them, that there were some animals which Indians did not eat, and among them were the *rabbit* and the *ground-hog*; for, said they, they did not know but that they might be *related* to them!

I found also that the Indians, for a similar reason, paid great respect to the rattle snake, whom they called their *grandfather*, and would on no account destroy him. One day, as I was walking with an elderly Indian on the banks of the Muskingum, I saw a large rattle-snake lying across the path, which I was going to kill. The Indian immediately forbade my doing so; for, said he, the rattle snake is grandfather to the Indians, and is placed here on purpose to guard us, and to give us notice of impending danger by his rattle, which is the same as if he were to tell us "look about!" Now, added he, if we were to kill one of those, the others would soon know it, and the whole race would rise upon us and bite us. I observed to him that the white people were not afraid of this; for they killed all the rattle snakes that they met with. On this he enquired whether any white man had been bitten by those animals, and of course I answered in the affirmative. "No wonder, then;" replied he, "you have to blame yourselves for that! you did as much "as declaring war against them, and you will find them "in your country, where they will not fail to make fre- "quent incursions. They are a very dangerous enemy; "take care you do not irritate them in *our* country; they "and their grandchildren are on good terms, and neither "will hurt the other."

These ancient notions have, however, in a great measure died away with the last generation, and the Indians at present kill their grandfather the rattle snake without ceremony, whenever they meet with him.

That the Indians, from the earliest times, considered themselves in a manner connected with certain ani-

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8. All grandchildren and kin of the second descending generation, irrespective of sex, were called by one term, grandchild.
9. If Ego was male, the children of male cousins were son and daughter, whereas children of female cousins were nephew and niece. If Ego was female, the children of siblings and cousins, irrespective of sex, were son and daughter.

Modern Kinship Terms

My data agree in the main with Morgan's, although there are some curious differences. (For comparative purposes the modern kinship terms are discussed here rather than under Acculturation.) The changes may be due to Munsi influence, since the modern system is like that of the Munsi, although the Unami dialect is employed. The changes may also be regarded as a further deterioration, particularly as the kinship society is no longer functional.

In terminology the major alteration has been in the classification of cousins. All cousins are now put in the sibling category, being termed older brother, older sister, or younger sibling. (Fig. 3, p. 47.) The children of those individuals whom Ego terms sibling are son and daughter, with the exception that male Ego calls a sister's son nephew. Male Ego does not call sister's daughter niece, as was true in Morgan's time, but calls her daughter. When cousins became brothers and sisters, it was only logical to extend the son and daughter term to their offspring. It might be noted that women in Morgan's time used the son and daughter terminology for all offspring of cousins. All of my informants were vague about the proper term for father's sister's husband and mother's sister's husband. It was given as "my little stepfather," but also as "my little father."

A Reconstruction of the Early Historic Kinship Terminology

Despite the lack of any early historic description of the Delaware kinship terminology, an attempt to reconstruct it is profitable. There is fairly extensive information concerning the other facts of social existence in early historic times, and, given these facts, only certain conditions were possible for the kinship structure. The kinds of forces that affected Delaware society between the time of first contact and 1859 are also known, as are the results that these forces generally have upon kinship systems. Moreover, Morgan's description of the kinship system in 1859 provides a point of departure.

There are strong indications that most if not all of the seventeenth-century peoples who were to become the Delaware tribe reckoned descent in the maternal line and practiced matrilocal residence.[121] It has been seen that horticulture was in the hands of women, a fact which emphasizes

[121] Wallace, 1947, pp. 1-35.

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spoke Delaware, and several other elderly Delawares spoke only very halting English. Considering the small numbers of Delawares in this area and their close association with the Caddo, it seems probable that there, too, the Delaware language will rapidly disappear.

Pan-Indianism

As the preceding sections of this chapter indicate, the Delawares have arrived at what would seem to be a final stage of assimilation to American civilization; for all intents and purposes the Delaware culture and tribal society are things of the past. During the field work of 1951 with the Cherokee-Delawares it became increasingly clear, however, that they were not completely assimilated, nor did it seem likely that they would be in the near future. It was apparent that in the following summer's field work a survey of the phenomenon which was responsible for nonassimilation should be made. Since this survey was undertaken as peripheral to the major study, the reconstruction of Delaware culture, my conclusions should be regarded as tentative.

The Cherokee-Delawares have been participating in a number of customs and institutions which are describable only as Indian. Much time and a great deal of energy is consumed in activities which can be described as neither Delaware nor Anglo-American. There is, in short, wholehearted participation in and allegiance to what may be called a Pan-Indian society. This is a loosely knit, informally organized grouping of Indians, who, having partly lost their old cultural orientation, but not being fully assimilated into white society, have joined forces and are participating in and sharing a number of intertribal customs and institutions. These institutions were and are being synthesized from elements derived from Indian cultures, but also drawn from white civilization.

When I first wrote this section no published study had been specifically devoted to Pan-Indianism, although it had been mentioned explicitly or implied in a number of works.[31] Since that time a brief paper on the "Pan-Indian Culture of Oklahoma"[32] has appeared, and I have published an abbreviated account of Cherokee-Delaware Pan-Indianism.[33] Karl Schmitt read a paper entitled "A Possible Development of a Pan-Indian Culture in Oklahoma" at the Central States branch of the American Anthropological Association several years ago. He intended to publish the paper, but his untimely death temporarily halted this project. George Devereux in his book *Reality and Dream* approached the subject from a slightly different point of view, a psychoanalytical one. He suggested that "areal basic personalities" were being substituted for tribal ones, at least among Plains Indians.[34] Petrullo touched upon Pan-Indianism among the Delawares, saying:

[31] Brasé, 1950, pp. 213-22; Devereux, 1951, p. 40; Mead, 1932, pp. 66-68.
[32] Howard, 1954.
[33] Newcomb, 1955b.
[34] Devereux, 1951, p. 40.

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> ...there has arisen a sympathetic attitude of the various tribal units towards each other, with the result that intercourse between them has become common, and each other's rites are observed and studied with the avowed purpose of comparison. This constant interchanging of ideas is giving rise to a novel feeling for Indian nationality.... The Delawares are actively participating in this, and as a result not only have they assimilated many of the ideas emanating from other tribes, but have disseminated their own widely.[36]

Cherokee-Delaware Pan-Indianism

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The peyote cult has always been essentially an intertribal phenomenon and this is true of Cherokee-Delaware peyotism today. It is probably the most important influence leading to Cherokee-Delaware participation in Pan-Indian society. Meetings are always held with Indians of other tribes, and in one which I attended, for example, besides the Delaware who sponsored it, a Winnebago (Roadman), Shawnees, and a Siouan couple from the Pine Ridge Reservation were present. Cherokee-Delaware peyotists frequently attend meetings with the Osages and Shawnees and also participate in meetings with Indians of many other tribes. Cherokee-Delaware peyotists feel closer and are more friendly to non-Delaware peyotists than they are to Delawares who are not members of the cult. Most Delaware peyotists belong to the more liberal and Christianized sect which has been termed Big Moon; a few are adherents of the Little Moon sect. Members of one sect ordinarily do not attend meetings of the other. The peyotists are ardent participants in, and often highly vocal advocates of, their cult, whereas the Protestants (who seem to be slightly more numerous) can be described as minimal or nominal members of their churches. The attractiveness of peyotism was especially apparent among the young men; none were encountered who were not peyotists. This may be partly explained by a feeling that peyotism is somewhat daring, and that it serves to announce to others that here is a person proud to be an Indian. The singing of peyote songs and the manufacture of peyote regalia are also pastimes of the young men. Membership in Protestant churches is not considered daring, it does not single out a member from his fellows, and it does not provide him with a pastime.

Brant has said that the peyote cult in southwestern Oklahoma "constitutes the religious symbol of what might be called a Pan-Indian movement."[36] LaBarre has summed up the Pan-Indian aspect of peyotism, and his remarks are also applicable to the Cherokee-Delawares: "The Indians feel, perhaps rightly, that peyotism is their last strong link with the aboriginal past, which others are trying to destroy. Hence it has contributed greatly to the sense of community and morale of the Indian groups in Oklahoma."[37]

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Many social activities of the Cherokee-Delawares are expressions of

[36] Petrullo, 1934, p. 29.
[36] Brant, 1950, p. 222.
[37] LaBarre, 1938, p. 188.

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Pan-Indianism and promote continued participation in the Pan-Indian society. Included here are the various powwows,[28] stomp dances,[29] and Indian associations of different sorts, from national organizations to the more or less informal Indian clubs, including women's clubs, sewing circles, and the like.

Powwows illustrate vividly the extent of Cherokee-Delaware Pan-Indianism. They are Indian fairs and in many respects are similar to the traditional county fair. Ordinarily, they are sponsored by inter-tribal Indian clubs. A powwow generally lasts from several days to a week, the participants camping on the premises. Social dancing is the principal activity, and many of the dances are modern syntheses of tribal and American elements. Dance costumes can seldom be identified with a specific tribe, as they have rapidly evolved during this century, with free borrowing going on between tribes.[30] Even the music of the powwow and of other similar gatherings has taken on a Pan-Indian flavor. Rhodes, commenting on Plains music, has said that "through the Dakotas and westward to Oregon, where social and ceremonial life function rather weakly in an acculturated pattern, there is to be observed a trend toward uniformization of musical style."[31] A list of the various tribes that attend these Indian fairs is impressive evidence of the extent of Indianism. The "Devils Promenade," a fair held annually over the fourth of July near Quapaw, attracts Indians from virtually every tribe in Oklahoma and sizable contingents of Indians from other states as well. A number of Sac and Fox from Tama, Iowa, for example, were present during the 1952 dance. The Oklahoma powwows are climaxed by the annual American Indian Exposition held at Anadarko in August; it attracts Indians from every quarter of the United States.

A number of powwows were attended in the second summer's field work and the presence of two families at these affairs was recorded. Both families in one month attended five powwows, for periods of time ranging from one to three days. Included were powwows in Tulsa, Pawhuska, Sperry, Quapaw, and Pawnee, some as far as eighty miles, from the Dewey area. In no instance was a Cherokee-Delaware found who was not an avid fan of powwows, despite the fact that neither the dances, the music, nor the costumes were Delaware, or were derived from Delaware culture. The Delawares do not hold any powwow of their own, or any in conjunction with other Indians. Moreover, their last stomp dance, which was held early in the summer of 1951, was unsuccessful. They are not even very active as dancers in the powwows which they attend, being interested spectators rather than active participants. The magnetism which these powwows have for the Cherokee-Delawares lies in the opportunity afforded them to be with others whom they consider to be like themselves, and the chance it gives them to act as "Indians," or at least to act as they think Indians should act. These Indian fairs, then,

[28] This term is used in Oklahoma for social gatherings; I use it in this sense.

[29] I am using this term for the smaller, more informal, less commercialized dances.

[30] See Gunther, 1930, pp. 174-79, for a detailed description of this diffusion.

[31] Rhodes, 1953, p. 133.

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are of considerable importance to Cherokee-Delaware Pan-Indianism. They not only serve as a common meeting ground for Indians, but their effect reinforces membership and consciousness of membership in Indian society.

Contrary to what I had supposed, social clubs of various types were not an important factor in the development of Pan-Indianism among the Cherokee-Delawares. Not one person was ever found who belonged to any national Indian organization, such as the National Congress of American Indians. In fact, many people professed complete ignorance of such organizations. For this reason these formal Indian groups, which in a sense may be said to be lobbying for Indianism, have been disregarded here. In passing, it might be noted that these organizations are possibly some sort of concrete expression of this acculturative trend among other Indian groups. Informal social clubs have some bearing upon Cherokee-Delaware Pan-Indianism. A number of women at one time belonged to the Indian Women's Club, an intertribal extension club of Washington County, which holds monthly meetings, has rummage sales, luncheons, and the like. Significantly, proceeds of one rummage sale were sent to the Navaho. Membership in this organization has declined since the war and none of the women interviewed belonged to it. It should be emphasized that this organization was Indian in character and not tribal. There has never been a men's club.

Extratribal marriage is an important factor in Cherokee-Delaware Pan-Indianism and assimilation. The Cherokee-Delawares are at the present time tribally exogamous. The youngest all-Delaware marriage I could find was between a man of thirty-eight and a woman of thirty-five, and this seems to have been somewhat exceptional. Only three living couples were found in which both partners claimed to be entirely Delaware, although a number of old widows and widowers had had Delaware spouses. Marriage to Indians of other tribes is the usual custom, but marriage to whites is not uncommon. Cherokee-Delawares have married Comanches, Senecas, Shawnees, Cherokees, Creeks, Yuchis, Peorias, and undoubtedly Indians of other tribes. How the Indian parents in these mixed marriages classify their children is indicative of the feelings about Pan-Indianism. If parents are questioned about tribal affiliation of their children, they may simply reply without much thought, "Indian," or with a little thought they may say, "Yuchi-Creek-Delaware," or something similarly artificial. Occasionally, they will skirt the question by giving the tribe in which the children are enrolled by the government. The wholesale marriage of the younger generation of Delawares to Indians of other tribes must be considered an important influence in the growth of Pan-Indianism. On the other hand, the marriage of Delawares to whites naturally, perhaps inevitably, results in further culture loss and completed assimilation. This would be particularly true of the individual who marries a white person and moves to an all-white community. Those individuals who marry whites but remain in an Indian community have, of course, a much better opportunity to retain Indian ways, and white marriage partners may become participants in Indian

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society. In one instance a Delaware woman's white husband has become a peyotist; he sings peyote songs and has served as fire chief in meetings.

The minority role and the consciousness of this standing on the part of the Cherokee-Delawares has also promoted Pan-Indianism. Discrimination against the Indians would presumably lead to feelings of isolation, persecution, and difference, perhaps greater than actually existed, and hence strengthen Pan-Indian society.[32] It is difficult, however, to assess the extent of discrimination against the Cherokee-Delawares. It is becoming increasingly difficult to recognize an Indian, whether on a racial or social basis. With the high incidence of past miscegenation, the high frequency of present-day mixed marriages, and the assimilation in dress, speech, and manners, a race bigot must have a high degree of perception to recognize and act against this minority. A number of tales of alleged discrimination were current in the community, but only one of these incidents (in rental housing) could be substantiated. Actual discrimination of any sort is probably rare, but there is a fairly widespread knowledge or belief that it exists. A universal awareness of past discrimination and exploitation and a knowledge of discrimination against Indians elsewhere are factors which encourage Pan-Indianism.

There are several other conditions which set the Cherokee-Delawares and other Indians apart as a minority group, and so contribute to Pan-Indianism. The Cherokee-Delawares have access to free services of government hospitals and schools, which in itself sets them apart from the whites. It also provides an opportunity for the Cherokee-Delawares to become well acquainted with Indians of other tribes. This is particularly true in schools where the association may be continued over a number of years. Government schools, however, are attended by the Cherokee-Delawares less frequently than formerly. Some of the attitudes of whites toward the Indian minority also serve to foster Pan-Indianism. To many an Oklahoman an Indian is an Indian, not a Cherokee, Kickapoo, or Delaware. The movies, the magazines, and other outlets of public information are constantly impressing upon him that he is an American Indian; no public agency impresses upon him the fact that he is a Delaware.[33] Many whites in Washington County were totally unaware that such a tribe as the Delaware existed. They were well aware, however, that there were many Indians in the county.

There are forces which hinder and oppose the development of Pan-Indianism, but it is difficult to assess many of them because they are of a negative and subjective nature. It is difficult to estimate, for instance, the pressure exerted by the dominant society for complete conformity. Whatever the extent of pressure for "100 per cent Americanism," it is not at present particularly noticeable; it seems instead that the Delawares are sufficiently assimilated linguistically, economically, and in

[32] Wirth, 1945, pp. 348-49, contains a pertinent discussion of this subject.

[33] Mead, 1932, pp. 67-68, noted these factors more than two decades ago.

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177 general behavior that no strong, overt pressure is brought to bear upon
178 them to conform to all white customs. Perhaps the greatest deterrent to a more flourishing Pan-Indianism is found in the correlated facts of dispersion and assimilation. The majority of Cherokee-Delawares upon reaching maturity leave the area. They do so because there are no strong, culturally forceful ties which would hold them back, and there are many economic advantages to be gained elsewhere. They are far enough along the road of assimilation that they can go elsewhere and become nondistinctive participants in the majority society.

Even in a brief examination such as this, it is clear that a number of different circumstances and conditions have made participation in a Pan-Indian society a highly important part of Cherokee-Delaware life. As the old culture declined, as Delaware society disintegrated and its members became scattered, the void was partly bridged by participation in a Pan-Indian society. This amorphous and as yet unorganized grouping of Indians shares a mélange of traits which are Indian, as opposed to being tribal in their nature. The peyote cult was perhaps the first influence and is still one of the strongest elements furthering and cementing the bonds of Cherokee-Delaware Pan-Indianism. Intertribal gatherings such as powwows and Indian clubs and associations, tribal exogamy, the status of the Cherokee-Delawares as Indians rather than Delawares are all important, particularly in combination with one another, in contributing to Pan-Indianism. In sum, two sociocultural groups are rapidly obliterating the old culture and society of the Cherokee-Delawares; one is Pan-Indianism, the other is the Anglo-American culture. In general terms, more and more Cherokee-Delawares are becoming less and less Delaware and more and more white or Indian.

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A SUMMARY AND ANALYSIS OF DELAWARE ACCULTURATION

A comparison of Delaware acculturation with that which other peoples have undergone at various times and places is beyond the scope of this study, but it is perhaps justifiable to attempt to analyze Delaware acculturation and to indulge in a few speculations concerning this general cultural process. The principal problem to be dealt with here is the reason for the occurrence of acculturation in some parts of Delaware culture before it appeared in others.

It has been seen that the technological part of Delaware culture changed radically and early. A new type of economic organization and economically motivated war also appeared in the early period, but they were not culture complexes that had been borrowed as such from the Europeans. The second stage of acculturation witnessed a reorganization and integration in Delaware society, particularly in political organization. The third stage was characterized by a revolt against the European interlopers and against prior acculturation. The defeats and disappointments of this period set the stage for the more rapid cultural disintegration which occurred in subsequent periods. The present phase of acculturation has been termed assimilation, since the Delawares have become, at least in external appearance, similar to their white neighbors. An important feature of this phase of acculturation is participation in a Pan-Indian society. In general, the technological and economic systems were destroyed and replaced at an early date. Deterioration of the kinship structure came later, but preceded the collapse of the ideological system.

The reasons for the rapid adoption by the early historic Delawares of numerous European technological traits are quite clear. The Delawares immediately appreciated the utility and general superiority of most of the tangible equipment of the Europeans. It was at once apparent to the Indians, for instance, that a steel axe or a cloth coat was immensely superior to its native counterpart. Direct comparison and rapid selection of artifacts of this sort could be made. The diffusion was, then, primarily of artifacts which had obviously inferior parallels in native culture and that could be readily understood in terms of native culture. Linton has noted this general condition. He said: "It seems that, other things being equal, certain sorts of culture elements are more readily transferable than others. Tangible objects such as tools, utensils or ornaments are taken over with great ease, in fact they are usually the first things transferred in contact situations."[1] Other technological items, particularly guns and gunpowder had no similar counterpart in Delaware culture, although, of course, they had functions analogous to native weapons. It has already been shown why this complex was rapidly adopted; suffice it to say here that if the Delawares

[1]Linton, 1940, p. 485.

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were to survive in the new conditions imposed by contact they had to acquire European weapons.

Some technological items did not diffuse to the Delawares in the early period. The most important of these was the plow complex. First, this complex was an intricate, mechanical one, completely foreign to anything with which these simple gardeners were familiar. Second, the idea of using the energy of an ox or horse for utilitarian purposes was completely novel to them. Feeding, harnessing, and compelling obedience from these animals was in itself a complicated and difficult trait to acquire. Third, the Delaware women were not likely to associate the raising of wheat and other small grains with their own simple corn horticulture, even if they had observed the entire round of European farming. Other traits, such as houses and house furnishings, did not diffuse in the early period. It is apparent that permanent dwellings of European style were of little use to a people who were becoming more nomadic than they had been in precontact times.

The reasons why there was little diffusion sociologically or ideologically in the Contact Period are abundantly clear; either the traits were not present to be diffused, or if they were present they were not understood. If they had been present and understood, there would have been no stimulus to borrow them. The Delawares had little opportunity to observe such groups as the European family since their contacts were mostly with traders. It is hardly likely that the form and function of the family would be readily comprehended; even if it were, it is not probable that it would be considered worth imitating. The only hint of change in the native family was a possible lessening of polygyny. This alteration, if it took place, may not have been a direct diffusion, but a response to changed conditions. The natives in the early period had little opportunity to understand the structure and function of European political organization, since only the feeble arm of that organization was operating in America.

In some respects the diffusion of socioideological traits is different from the diffusion of technological items. An axe, whether steel or stone, is quickly recognizable as such by a person acquainted with axes, and he can readily choose the superior one. This type of reasoning cannot be carried over to the nonmaterial parts of culture. The family grouping or an economic organization can scarcely be seen, certainly not in the same way that one sees a concrete object. An axe can be readily understood and used apart from its original cultural context, but it is much more difficult for a kinship system to be understood and appreciated, much less voluntarily adopted, apart from its sociocultural context. It should also be noted that for a massive transfer of sociological or religious traits a shared language is a necessity; few Delawares spoke English or other European languages until well into the nineteenth century, and even fewer Europeans or Americans bothered to learn Delaware.

The same general comments can be made concerning ideological nonacculturation during the Contact Period. The native had little opportunity to observe or to embrace Christianity, the traders and settlers

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were of a social group which was neither interested in, nor particularly concerned with, the spread of Christianity to the Indian. These Europeans, although professing one or another brand of Christianity, were in the main poor examples to set before the heathen. One Dutchman in a letter written in 1657 said:

> We can say but little of the conversion of the heathens or Indians here, and see no way to accomplish it, until they are subdued by the numbers and power of our people, and reduced to some sort of civilization; and also unless our people set them a better example, than they have done heretofore.[3]

As the writer of this letter realized, until Indian culture had been extensively altered, voluntary conversion of the Indian was impossible. To be more precise, since a religion may be viewed as a reflection and interpretation of a way of life, ordinarily this way of life has to be altered before there will be a willing and wholesale change to some religious system which is an expression of a completely different sort of existence. Even if Christianity (church services, and so forth) were observed by the Indian, it is difficult to see how the Indian would judge it to be superior to native religious forms. Some few elements may have been borrowed from Christianity in the Contact Period, but there is no proof that any were.

The most important changes in the Contact Period, in terms of their far-reaching effects, were changes which occurred because of the conditions of the contact situation. Depopulation and migration were important in this connection, as were the economic relationships which developed between the Europeans and Indians and the rise of chronic warfare.

By the second half of the eighteenth century acculturation had forged the Delawares into a militant tribe, but one which was split by contradictions within and endangered by enemies without. Insofar as a culture must be integrated, it is plain that when revolutionary changes occur technologically and economically, other segments of the culture must in time change and become adapted to the new conditions. The Period of Consolidation was a time when Delaware culture was becoming adjusted, if only partly, to these drastic alterations. The most noticeable expression of consolidation was the appearance of the Delaware tribe as a political entity. At first glance it seems surprising that a people of such heterogeneous origins, whose ranks had been decimated and who had been forced from their homes, should in slightly more than a century become a relatively unified tribe. But when it is realized that the Delawaran peoples were concentrated in "towns" as they had never been in pre-European times, that the Iroquois and Europeans were treating them as a single entity, and that there was an acute necessity for some agency to deal with and combat the menacing forces arrayed against them, the political consolidation becomes understandable. That other parts of culture should become more standardized, and that such things as the Big

[3] Jameson, 1909, p. 399.

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House Ceremony should be synthesized at this time is also more readily comprehensible from this viewpoint. This is not intended to imply that by the end of the period Delaware culture was well integrated or was well adjusted to the external world. On the contrary, external events were to prove too much for the crude political mechanisms the Delawares had evolved, and since the culture continued to change rapidly internal integration was never attained.

It was in the following Nativistic Period that the unresolved conflicts had their most convulsive expression; the revolutionary changes were causing repercussions in the kinship structure, chronic warfare was having effects upon every aspect of society, and the traditionally weak political institutions were unable to cope with the host of new internal problems. The Delawares, ever hard pressed by missionaries, militant whites, and the advancing frontier, were becoming increasingly aware of their inability to control or even to stabilize, by their own unaided efforts, the rapid changes and conflicts in their life. As the realization grew that there was nothing more they could do, that there was no practical way out of their difficulties, they turned as a final resort to the supernatural world and a revivalistic nativism. These nativistic movements were essentially attempts to obtain cultural reintegration and stability by rejecting much that had been accepted from the whites and most of the changes that had come about because of the conditions of contact. This sort of reaction was an almost inevitable consequence of the rapid and extensive acculturation of the earlier periods.

The failure of the revivalistic nativism set the stage for a more rapid disintegration and collapse of the Delaware culture. Acculturation in the subsequent Decadent Period was mostly within the realm of social organization; there seems to have been little breakdown or replacement religiously or in other areas of ideology. There have been several not entirely successful attempts to explain why Delaware ideology was so resistant to change.[3] It may be suggested that the Delaware social system altered more rapidly than the ideological system since the social system was more directly dependent upon the technological system than was the ideological system. When the technology altered, the social organization, or some parts of it, was sooner affected than were the religious ceremonies or myths. This is easily seen if it is noted, for instance, that with European weapons a native could kill many more game and fur-bearing animals than had previously been possible. This diffusion must rapidly have influenced such social institutions as hunting territories, clan organization, and the economic importance of women. With the gun a Delaware could quickly reduce the number of animals in his hunting territory. The necessity of trade and the disappearance of game would force him farther away from home, upsetting whatever common geographical base his clan had, perhaps irreparably damaging this institution. Since men were of the sex that obtained the fur-bearing animals, their importance grew at the expense of women.

[3]Kinietz, 1946, pp. 77-78; Speck,

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
NM7 Delaware NM7

Although a man could supply relatively more game for the same expenditure of energy, his wife was raising no more, and probably less, garden produce if they had moved from their original location. Hence, the economic position of the male was enhanced, that of the female was decreased. The result was probably a change from a matrilocal-matrilineal system to a bilateral or neolocal-bilateral system of kinship reckoning. In short, the effects upon social organization of this altered technology were relatively soon felt. The immediate effect upon the ideological system is much less clear. It is difficult to see, for example, how the diffusion of guns or other technological equipment would soon affect such traits as the vision quest, the soul concept, or other supernatural or ideological beliefs or practices. Perhaps eventually there would be major repercussions, but it is clear that they would be long delayed.

Another obvious reason why the religious system was retained long after other segments of culture were replaced is that since religion deals with powerful, dangerous, feared, uncontrollable or partly uncontrollable forces, the Delawares simply did not dare to give up their beliefs. Should they do so, they felt that they would be punished by the tremendous wrath that supernatural beings could unleash. It is true, of course, that insofar as material items are endowed or sanctioned by supernatural forces, they too are that much more resistant to replacement by superior, competitive analogues. The same reasoning applies to nonmaterial institutions. A case in point is the retention of the phratry system by the Delawares; since it functioned primarily in a religious context, it was retained long after such institutions as the clan had disappeared.

I do not intend to imply that religious customs or ceremonies were completely static while other parts of the culture were undergoing revolutionary change. First, there was a synthesis of rites which produced the tribal Big House Ceremony, which is associated with the appearance and consolidation of the tribe. Secondly, a number of elements from Christianity were adopted and integrated into Delaware belief at various times. In general, however, religious beliefs and customs from the Period of Consolidation to the twentieth century were remarkably impervious to serious alteration.

With the collapse of most parts of Delaware culture in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, a stage of acculturation was reached which I have termed assimilation. Technologically, economically, socially, and to some extent religiously, the Delawares had approximated the dominant culture. Replacement of many Delaware traits, however, was by institutions that are properly referred to as Indian rather than as American. The old religious system, for example, was replaced in part by peyotism. The principal reason for the replacement of culture traits by Indian rather than by Anglo-American traits is probably to be found in the fact that traits which are familiar and which easily fit in with the old culture have a competitive advantage over foreign traits. Other things being equal, when two culture traits, or complexes of traits,

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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177 are in competition with each other, the one or ones which are more easily integrated and more easily understood and appreciated in terms of
178 the cultural background will be chosen.

From my point of view Pan-Indianism may be regarded as one of the final stages of acculturation, just prior to completed assimilation. Pan-Indianism has been made possible by the fact that through acculturation Indians of very diverse backgrounds have come to share a common language and to participate in the same economy. This means that they have been able to share, or perhaps to find out that they shared, a common core of tradition and a commonality of situation and purpose. Pan-Indianism may also be explained as an attempt, perhaps largely unconscious, by a minority group composed of many different tribal remnants to find unity and strength in common customs. In a sense, it is a final attempt to preserve a distinctiveness of being which a dominant civilization has tried to destroy. But in another sense it may be regarded as an effort to glorify or enhance a minority group status which the dominant majority has insisted be preserved.

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7

224 852 turn to the east, having the whole or part of the animal on the back, always with the skin, before entering the house and give vent to a prolonged call, which is the old man's or old woman's prayer to the Deity in behalf of the boy, that he may always be a fortunate hunter. During the repast they repeat their petitions and give counsel to the boy (who, with his companions, is a mere spectator) regarding the chase and all the circumstances of his future life, exhorting him above all things to revere old age and gray hairs and to be obedient to their words, because 688 experience has given them wisdom. Such counsel was heeded 178 in time past, and though the ceremonies are still kept up, the young no longer revere the aged as was the case at one time.

Formerly, the young revered the old, especially if they had gray or white heads.[1] They believed that these must be very wise and prudent, because they were of such an age and seemed to be favored of the gods. Therefore, they treated the aged well, brought them, it may be, a deer, in the hope that they might be instructed of them how to attain to equal age. They presented the old, also, with wampum or belts, with the same hope. While nothing was said, the aged understood and gave the desired instruction on another occasion.

No young Indian in those days would have dared to take 784 the tobacco pouch, (made usually of the skin of the otter, beaver, 274 raccoon, fox, pole-cat, or some other animal, stripped off whole, with a little slit at the neck), of an old person and take a pipeful of tobacco, thinking such an act a great sin and believing that it would be the cause of shortening his life. When, therefore, in those days, a young brave asked an aged man permission to fill his pipe from the latter's pouch, the old man understood that this was not the young man's intention at all, but he wished to place something in the pouch. Usually, wampum was put in and no tobacco taken out.[2] This, also, was done with the hope that the aged man might instruct the young brave how to be wise and to attain to great age. Indeed, good counsel is given, to bring offerings regularly on behalf of themselves and their friends, to be chaste, to abstain from drinking and stealing, which were common even in those days. These customs, however, have ceased. The old have lost respect and the young

3: Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7
Iroquois NM9
Shawnee NM17

regard them but little. They do not seem to be ashamed of their vices. For this reason, Indians themselves declare that their condition grows worse from year to year. As there is neither law nor legal penalty among them, they have nothing to fear, except that an injured one may avenge himself in the manner in which he has been injured. If one has seduced the wife of another, the offended party will seek to seduce the wife of the offender. He will keep his purpose a secret and not rest until he has obtained satisfaction, when he makes known to others what he has done, so that the original offender may hear of it.

When, in a young female, the first menstrual discharge occurs, generally between the twelfth and sixteenth year, the Delawares generally separate such daughters from all companionship, the Monsies [Monseys] being more strict and having more ceremonies in the observance of the custom than the Miamis. They build for such a girl, separate hut, apart from the rest, where her mother or some old female acquaintance cares for her and guards her so that none may see her. Wherefore, she is also kept within the hut the whole of the menstrual period, with the blanket over her head. She is given little to eat, but regularly dosed with emetics. She is not allowed to do any work during the whole time, which generally lasts twelve days. At the end of the time, they bring her into her home, looking black, grimy and dishevelled, because she has been lying about in dust and ashes the whole time. Washed and dressed in new garments, she is allowed to be in the home, but required to wear a cap with a long shield, so that she can neither see any one readily, nor be seen. Such a covering she must wear for two months, at the end of which time she is informed that she may marry.

The Shavanose [Shawanese] and Mingoes, however, who observe much the same custom, follow a different course in this matter. The young woman in question is allowed to remain in the house. She prepares food for those in the house, of the corn and fruits she has raised. Of such food she does not, however, herself partake, but goes to her hut, apart from the others, and there prepares and eats her food.

Every month, during her menstrual period, a Delaware woman lives by herself in a separate hut, which is usually very

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

do, there will be another earthquake, or something else just as bad.

"The earthquake stopped that time; that is why the Delawares have kept the MIsi'ng$^{w^t}$ and the Big House ever since. The Mask is left in charge of some family who will take good care of it, and burn Indian tobacco for it from time to time."

It will be seen that, according to the above tradition, the MIsi'ng$^{w^t}$ was, first of all, a personal helper, or guardian Spirit, that afterward became more or less of a tribal deity, and that his cult became engrafted on the Annual Ceremony among the Unami, the rites of which were already ancient among them. That this engrafting really took place seems possible from the fact that among the Minsi there were no masked performers at the Big House ceremonies, and that, while the central post of the temple was provided with carved faces, the masks had an entirely different function among this people. The innovation, if it took place at all, must have been before Brainerd's[62] time, however, for, as related

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910) 1921
NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

in our first chapter, he found the MIsi'ng$^{w^t}$ and Big House in use, as among the Unami today, as early as May, 1745, while traveling among the Delawares living at that time on Susquehanna river.

MIsi'ng$^{w^t}$ DANCE

Besides the part taken by the MIsi'ng$^{w^t}$ in the Annual Ceremony, he has certain rites peculiar to himself which were held every spring. As the Indians put it:

"When spring comes, the Delawares are glad, and they are thankful that their helper, the MIsi'ng$^{w^t}$, is still among them. For this reason they give a feast and dance to make him happy too."

Notification.—So at the time of the full moon (about May), the keeper of the mask gives another Indian a yard of wampum to ride around to all the Delaware houses, wearing the mask and bearskin costume (pl. II) to let the people know that the time for the MIsi'ng$^{w^t}$ dance (*MIsingki'nika*) is at hand. The MIsi'ng$^{w^t}$ rides horseback, and another man, also mounted, follows him to see that

7: Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

large. It is, then, to one of the religious men of the tribe, *Wi·tapano'xwe*, "Walks by Daylight" (C. J. Webber), the joint author of the text study of the Big House, supplemented with the cooperation of *Ni·'ka'ni·paxoxwe*, "Walking in Advance, Leader" (Joe Washington), and *Kwutc'pagi·'kamen*, "Rustling Leaves (when walking)" (George T. Anderson), that we owe the narration of this series of texts explaining the procedures themselves and the traditions of their origin (Plate 1).

Some of them, for instance the Grease Drinking Ceremonies and the Doll Dance, are family properties handed down as obligations within the family group from some past period when the responsibility for their enactment was incurred through the event of some long-forgotten individual undergoing experience with a spirit in human or animal form. These have developed among the Delawares into septs inheriting the obligation to perform them corresponding to the motives actuating rites of similar derivation in several other parts of North America.

In the history of Delaware institutions of the kind there is reason to suppose that the minor ceremonies, perhaps those passed on through generations within the family groups, may indeed be older than the Big House Ceremony. The fact that in the Big House certain rites appear to have been added and others to have been dropped off as time went on would show that the great celebration has integrated through the coalition of originally separate elements. Its comprehensiveness and its thoroughly worked-out cosmological philosophy seem to denote this. The formative elements themselves, then, may be those which we have here, the minor rites performed by smaller social groups, the families, perhaps the villages under the old social system when the tribe resided undisturbed by an European invasion in the east, and those conceived by certain individuals as an outcome of their personal revelations. These bear indication of being prior developments entering into the composition of the dominating and communal Big House Ceremony. Keeping pace with the dwindling devotion of the Delawares to the rites of the Big House, the individual and

7:Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
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small group celebrations have suffered decline, some having entirely ceased in recent years. In the minor ceremonies we have accordingly good prospective material to work over for the analysis of the larger composite ceremony. By taking into consideration with the Delaware institutions the process of ceremony integration in other parts of North America, of which the Sun Dance of the Plains Indians is a striking example, we are coming to possess the source material needed by the student pursuing research in the fascinating field of the history of religions. These repositories of native thought and experience are great in another sense. They offer a suggestive line of thought concerning the building-up process which has produced some of the great mass celebrations that mark the religious calendar of the preliterate tribes in whose culture have developed sophistries framed in proportions not unlike those of civilized nations.

I should like to add that the textual study offered in these pages is a contributive not a conclusive one as concerns the ethnology of the Delawares. Observations of ceremonial procedure still remain to be made on the rites that survive in the tribe.[1] But nothing can supercede the worth of the word for word deposition of even a modest informant like Wi·tapano'xwe, who has taken active part in many of them and whose nature has been steeped in reverence for them since childhood.

Some explanation should, it seems, be offered for omitting to mention and discuss ceremonial feasts and small rites that operate directly for the curing of sickness. The student of religious institutions would naturally expect these to be embraced in a study of this character since they are no less important and interesting as depicting the religious habits of the tribe. This aspect of the field has, however, been studied, and the material brought together for treatment in an independent monograph by Miss G. I. Tantaquidgeon, the manuscript being in the archives of the Historical Commission of Pennsylvania.

[1] Not forgetting that excellent studies made in the field of Delaware Ethnology by M. R. Harrington have been published in his "Religion and Ceremonies of the Lenape," Indian Notes and Monographs, Museum American Indian (Heye Foundation), New York, 1921, and more is promised by the same author.

7:Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

THE BUFFALO DANCE CEREMONY

Si·li·e'ox·an, literally "buffalo dance", is one of the 796^x ceremonies concerning which Harrington expressed some uncertainty as regards its position in the Delaware cycle. He merely mentions the ceremony as known to his informants,[1] and quotes Adams as being the only other writer to have dealt with it in a brief account published forty years ago.[2] That the Buffalo Dance should be included with the Otter Ceremony or the Bear Ceremony, as Harrington surmises, I shall not agree with. We have enough concrete information regarding it to describe it as an independent rite, even basing judgment upon the meagre details now in hand. In the account that follows I have included the observations put on record by Adams.

It should be noted that the Delawares have abandoned the 796^x Buffalo Dance since their migration to the Cherokee Nation. 178 But in 1921 they performed the dance for exhibition purposes, led by a Christian Delaware, Filmore Secondine (*se'kəndaie'·xiyg*, "As long as the building is"), who was old enough to have learned it in his younger days.[3] The Delawares, however, still participate in the Buffalo Dance when they visit the Shawnee, according to Wi·tapano'xwe. Among the latter the dance is still in favor, and, he adds, it was understood that both tribes carried it out in the same manner. Being a ceremony with common properties among a number of Oklahoma tribes we may wonder whether perhaps the Delawares did not acquire it after they had crossed westward into the area of the Central Algonkian or perhaps even later after their arrival beyond the Mississippi.

Wi·tapano'xwe states that this is a dance and ceremony 796^x intended for fighting men and hunters. Adams affirms this

[1] Harrington, I, p. 182-3.

[2] R. C. Adams, Report on Indians Taxed and Not Taxed, U. S. Census, 1890, p. 209.

[3] The informant thinks that J. A. Parks, a Delaware now living, may still know some of the Buffalo Dance songs which his grandfather knew.

7: Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

The Spring Dance may be called to performance by a chief of any one of the three ceremonial social groups, Wolf, Turkey or Tortoise. It is he who is responsible for the prayer which opens the event. Besides the prayer or invocation, he is expected to deliver a sermon before the dancing begins, the text of which follows the general pattern of such declamations among the more devout Indians over the whole Algonkian-speaking area, as I have had occasion to observe it. In this talk he tells the people that they must conduct themselves as is proper in a ceremonial dance, to show respect to the aged, to reverence the purpose of the dance and game and at the same time to extract as much good and enjoyment out of it as possible because the Creator intends for them to have it as a period of enjoyment. He sagely observes in closing that the Creator looks upon his people as his children and wishes for them to enjoy themselves as such without causing trouble.

In recent times the reduction of the rite to a mere football game seems to have been the tendency among the Oklahoma Delawares. The main officer is the fire guardian and dance promoter known by his office as *pu'tcəl*, who lectures the participants cautioning them against drinking, violence, scuffling or the leveling off of grudges during the game and dance. The dance song is accompanied by the water-drum. There are both women's dances and the ordinary "Stomp" or leading dances, and then mixed dances continuing through the night. The concluding dance is the parting dance, the so-called Drunken Dance, which terminates all Delaware social dance gatherings and takes place just before the break of dawn (see p. 98).

After the first night of the dance it is held over again for several nights, usually taking place the last of each week, the dance lasting over Saturday night.

The general details of the football game are as follows. The opposite sides are composed of an equal number of men and women. There are two goals, one at each end of the smooth area known as the football ground. The goal poles are two uprights eight or nine feet in height set about four

7: Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

with carving, paint, tightly woven diagonal-technique beadwork, and feather pendants, single or in small clusters, as the illustrations show (Fig. 2). The carving is usually in block form, the exposed wood painted blue, yellow, or red, and the beadwork designed as it is on staffs used in the Peyote rites, all showing the influence of Peyote symbolism in their decoration. The feathers attached are usually those of the flicker (yellow shafted woodpecker) to denote the sacred power invested in this bird which has a black moon-marked breast, and sometimes parrot feathers obtained from the traders. On one specimen a strip of soft muskrat fur around the staff represented an admonition to "be polite," at the dance, avoiding loudness and vulgarity which might cause trouble.

According to the occasion, his musical equipment may be a hand-rattle. His lead songs are of the type in which a measure is sung by him alone when the dancers respond with a corresponding shorter measure in which the syllables vary only somewhat. These dances are most popular and seem to be growing in favor among the Indians of Oklahoma. In fact, within the last four or five years Delaware dance leaders have introduced them among the Osage, as is the case of Tom Half Moon himself.

While we have as yet no detailed accounts of such social-ceremonial pastimes among the still practicing groups to serve as a basis for comparative treatment, I can testify to having observed them over a wide area in the east, indeed from the Penobscot, and other Wabanaki of the northeast, and the Iroquois and Shawnee to the Cherokee, Creek and Yuchi of the Gulf area. The purpose, however, is not to discuss them here. The known history of many of these dances throughout the area proves a case of diffusion from tribe to tribe as they are deliberately carried by visiting dance leaders. We have knowledge of a number of introductions among the Iroquois from colonial times to the present.

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

tribes was responsible for few changes. The only one represented in this study is the acquisition of the blowgun.

Of course, it is a mistake to assume that the culture of the Delaware would have been without change through these three centuries if not in contact with whites. Some change in Delaware culture may very well have been the result of indigenous development. The stimulus of the culture of the whites, however, was so much stronger that it is only reasonable that native developments should have been overshadowed. Nor was the culture of the whites standing still through this period. The culture of neither of the two groups was static, but as long as the Indian group was being moved westward ahead of the spread of white settlement, a static condition was simulated for that portion of the whites in contact with the Indians. The frontier changed but frontier conditions tended to remain the same. The effect of this contact with the white frontier is obvious among the Oklahoma Delaware today. The standard of living there is roughly that of pioneer agricultural regions fifty to seventy-five years ago and in the submarginal regions today.

The hypothesis that the technological, sociological, and spiritual aspects of a culture are increasingly resistant to change in that order has been shown to accord with the facts in the case of the Delaware. Language should either be included with the last aspect or be placed fourth and last, but has been omitted as outside the scope of this study. It may be said in passing, however, that the Delaware language is used by many who have otherwise retained little of the cultural heritage of the Delaware.

It seems to me that there is a very good reason for the persistence of the elements of the old spiritual life of a people after practically all other aspects of the culture are gone. This is the fact that control of religious and death practices is usually in the hands of the older people. These are the most conservative of the entire group, as a rule, and tend toward the perpetuation of the ways of their ancestors. This conservative attitude is particularly apparent in burial customs. In these matters the younger people seek to honor the practices of their elders on the death of the latter, even if they do not believe them necessary

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
NM7 Delaware NM7

and there preparation is made for beginning the Gamwing. And besides, everyone who is to relate a vision and lead a dance, if he has prepared his rattle of turtle shell, shall see to it to bring it with him for the ceremony.

There, in the ancient times the beginning of their worship the Delawares went into camp every month. They worshipped in the Big House for a ten and two day period. But then in a few years a different rule made it every three months. And again it was changed. It was said, "We are hindered in our labor," because of our ceremony. Whereupon for the last time they changed it. It was said, "From now on every six months," the Gamwing will be." But indeed it was discovered that they had become by now too much like the white man in their life.[1] The young Delawares were ashamed, seeing what their elders did. And so by this time it is very difficult for the Delawares to assemble when ready to perform the ceremony.[2]

[1] Among the Delawares, and the affiliated Nanticoke as well, the term awa'na, denoting "salt water" came to be used in a dignified sense referring to Europeans, since they first appeared from the sea. In the vernacular, less respectful in its sense, the white man was also known as *ɔ'pinɛ* "white face" also denoting "opossum." This is more of a soberiquet in Delaware. The allusions to Europeans in other Eastern Algonkian languages did not follow the principle of Delaware usage, for the Munsee, awe'nik the plural of "who?" (Brinton, The Lenape and their Traditions), the Mohegan-Pequot, wa'noks, derives also from awa'n, "who"; Wabanaki, awa'nuter, awe'nuter of similar derivation.

[2] It would appear that the weakening of devotion has been a characteristic modern tendency among the native pagan groups as well as among Christians.

Such was the ruling long ago how several different kinds of spiritual-forces were existent, how, it was said, all the wild animals and birds as well as the creeping wild creatures are the ones to be mentioned[1] in the Big House.

The pure[2] animals and birds only are used when they prepare meat. This is the reason why every one of them, even that Mask-Spirit, and all their kind including the Tortoise,[3] are called man'i't u. It is because he it is who carries our mother's body.[4] And the bird is used there to be eaten. And these feathers of him are ceremonially used when they sweep clean[5] the beautiful-pure White Path, our father's, the Great Spirit's road.[6] Wherefore a person will appear fine when dress-

[1] This means ceremonially; mention by symbolical references to pay them respect and to acknowledge their rule in the departments of nature.

[2] For further details concerning the "pure, clean" creatures see the outline discussion page 50.

[3] Note the use of the same term (ta'khouke) for both the creature itself and the tortoise-rattle. The latter is regarded as being the actual living creature in its ceremonial guise.

[4] The Delaware metaphor referring to the earth.

[5] The term used denotes, "they purify by sweeping clean," meaning to clear away latent malific spiritual forces that might lie in the White Path. This symbolically removes possible spiritual pollution from the course of the wor-

11:Newcomb E-5 (1952) 1956 NM7 Delaware NM7

attitude is best summed up as one of intense emotion and reverence. It could hardly be otherwise, since any individual may come face to face with supernatural powers during the course of the ceremony. Even if he does not, he has come to the ceremony in the sincere belief that he can and will get help in solving the most serious of life's problems. This precludes a profane attitude. I can only echo Petrullo (1934: 88) who said that the atmosphere of the ceremony was ". . . accompanied by the deepest feeling of reverence and awe and peace that it has been my lot to have witnessed either among primitive people or Christian groups engaged in worshipping their God."

Peyote is of course the focal point of the peyote meeting, but peyote itself is not worshipped. Informants stress this again and again, probably because they have so frequently been attacked by Whites and Christian Indians on this point. Peyote is both a symbol of the supernatural forces being worshipped and a sacrament. For the Delaware peyotist it is a means of establishing contact with the supernatural world and of securing a personally satisfactory working relationship with the spirit forces. While Peyote is the most important supernatural force present, it is not the only one. The spiritual forces of Sun, Moon, Fire, and others are there. Their importance and even their existence depends upon individual interpretation (Fig. 1).

The outward emphasis of Delaware peyote meetings is upon curing. The stated purpose of the meeting I have described was to assist in the cure of the sponsor, and there was a shamanistic curing rite performed during the course of the evening. It should also be pointed out that many peyotists are eager to relate how peyote has cured them of various diseases. It would be a mistake, however, to regard Big Moon peyotism as merely a curing rite, or even to think of it as primarily so. Peyote is regarded as a spirit force through which men can approach the omnipotent supernatural power or powers. Informants sometimes equate peyote with Jesus and say that White men use the "Jesus road to God" while the "Indian takes the Peyote Road."

BIG MOON PEYOTISM—THEN AND NOW

Unfortunately Petrullo did not attend a Big Moon meeting with the Delawares near Dewey, but did participate in a Big Moon meeting of the Delawares at Anadarko. Normally there are many minor divergencies between meetings and tepee arrangements because there is no priesthood or dogmatic creed. As Petrullo (1934: 31) said, "A religion that insists that each individual can learn its doctrines only through personal experience with its gods must necessarily exist in a variable

11:Newcomb E-5 (1952)1956 NM7 Delaware NM7

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795

form." Despite the differences in locale and in the inherent variability of the cult, there is a surprising correspondence between the Big Moon meeting of 1930 in Anadarko and the one held in 1952 near Dewey. The similarity between the arrangement of the tepee I have described and the eight variants of the Big Moon altar and tepee which Petrullo diagrams is striking; the same is true of the conduct of the meetings. The principal differences between the meetings are presented in Table I (Petrullo, 1934: 87–95). The differences are minor; for the most part they are well within the range of variation of the cult, and of course in most respects the meetings are similar or identical. The principal change seems to be that women are allowed a much greater part in the

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TABLE I

Differences in Big Moon Peyotism
1930 and 1952

1930—Anadarko	1952—Dewey
1. Quiet period in afternoon prior to ceremony.	1. Participants gather just before ceremony.
2. Road-chief seated people; women on south.	2. Sit where you like. Women seated on north and south.
3. Oil lamp near altar.	3. No light other than fire.
4. Personal paraphernalia permitted after midnight.	4. No personal paraphernalia in evidence at any time.
5. Crucifix on altar.	5. No crucifix.
6. Only road-chief smoked Indian tobacco cigarette to open meeting.	6. Everybody smokes corn husk-Bull Durham cigarette.
7. Women given only the peyote tea.	7. Women eat green or dried peyote; men drink tea.
8. "Fanning" with eagle-feather fan after sets of songs.	8. Absent.
9. Drum-chief sang after road-chiefs' opening sung.	9. Drum-chief is last to sing; clockwise circuit followed without exception.
10. Women did not sing.	10. Woman sang, but permission had to be given by road-chief.
11. No midnight intermission.	11. Midnight intermission.
12. No shamanistic curing (possibly permitted).	12. Winnebago performed cure on wife.
13. At dawn road-chief sang "morning water-song"; each person drank water.	13. Negative.
14. Filed outside, washed faces, faced rising sun, returned to tepee, etc.	14. Meeting closed with Lord's Prayer.
15. No breakfast.	15. Breakfast.
16. Candy, etc., distributed at noon meal.	16. Candy passed before leaving tepee.

11:Newcomb E-5 (1952) 1956 NM7 Delaware NM7

meeting than they were two decades ago. In this respect peyotists seem to be merely following the general trend of White society.

Big Moon peyotism diffused to the Delawares as a substitute for an outmoded religious system, but its replacement of the traditional religion has been slow and incomplete. The peyote cult is still regarded by many Delawares as a somewhat inferior replacement for the traditional ceremonies. What is more, during World War II the Big House Ceremony, the major, annual religious rite of the Delawares, was revived and held three times, albeit in abbreviated form. The Delawares would continue the old rites today, but because of expense, cultural decay, and other factors, they have been finally abandoned. It is doubtful whether the traditional rites, even if abbreviated and vestigial, can ever again be held. Petrullo (1934: 175) underestimated their strength when he said more than two decades ago that they were "No longer able to perform the ancient ceremonies. . . ." Neither Petrullo nor I found out what proportion of the Delawares were peyotists, Christians, or adherents to the old religion, so that changes in religious affiliation are largely a matter of conjecture. It is known, however, that many of the proponents of the abandoned religion have become peyotists, but at least a few have become Christians. In short, the peyote cult has never completely replaced the traditional religion, nor has it gained universal approval. The most that can be said by way of comparison is that the Big Moon cult was a covert, lively, and popular one in the thirties; it remains so today.

Probably the greatest changes which have occurred in Delaware Big Moon peyotism within the past twenty-five years have been in the reasons why people are drawn to it. There is not space here to discuss this topic in detail, but it should be pointed out that the peyote cult originally diffused to the Delawares, and was still attractive to them in the easly thirties because:

> . . . it teaches acceptance of the new world, and makes possible an attitude of resignation in the face of the probable disappearance of the Indian groups as distinct peoples, culturally and racially, by insisting on the necessity of emancipation from mundane aspirations. . . . [The peyote cult] is the natural but final recourse of a subjugated people who fully realize the inadequacy of their material means to restore their former world-state (Petrullo, 1934: 1).

The appeal of modern peyotism is, at least in part, of a different nature. Briefly, the Delawares are no longer a cohesive cultural or social entity; they are geographically scattered and socially atomized. There is no tribal activity which draws them together as Delawares, and every year there are fewer distinctive customs which set them apart from

12:Tantaquidgeon E-5 (no date)1950
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Delaware Indian Art Designs

GLADYS TANTAQUIDGEON

Introduction

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in Kansas, and from there they moved to Oklahoma and became incorporated with the Cherokee. Other bands found their way to Canada in the Province of Ontario, where they are now known as Delawares, Munsee and Moravians.

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The present population of the Delawares is estimated to be about 1,400. Of this number, 1,000 are in Oklahoma and the remainder in the province of Ontario, Canada.

Field of Art

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Until about 1890 the Delawares practiced many of their native arts and crafts but among the modern descendants of the tribe only a few of the older arts have survived. Pottery making, work in stone, bone, horn, antler, silver and the use of quills and hair in embroidery; twined basketry made from certain roots, and woven bags and girdles of Indian hemp (*Apocynum cannabium*) are now only vaguely remembered by some of the older members of the groups in Oklahoma and Ontario. Work in silver persisted until

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[P 24, B] About 1913.